

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00548 01 OF 02 192020Z

41

ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ACDE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 INRE-00

USIE-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-02 INR-07 IO-10 L-03

NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04 PRS-01 SAJ-01

SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 NSC-05 EB-07 ERDE-00 NRC-05

/095 W

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O P 191925Z NOV 75

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1291

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY

USCINCEUR PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0548

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: OPTION 3 - COLLECTIVE REDUCTION COMMITMENT

REF: A. MBFR VIENNA 0513, DTG 050630Z NOV 75

B. MBFR VIENNA 0506, DTG 311645Z OCT 75

C. USNATO 5939, DTG 032015Z NOV 75

D. USNATO 6265, DTG 181450Z NOV 75

1. WE UNDERSTAND THAT, DURING HIS RECENT VISIT TO WASHINGTON, AMBASSADOR ROTH STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE TO THE FRG OF THE CONCEPT OF A COLLECTIVE WESTERN REDUCTION COMMITMENT IN PHASE II, AS OPPOSED TO INDIVIDUAL NATIONAL COMMITMENTS TO SPECIFIC NATIONAL REDUCTION QUOTAS. WE UNDERSTAND AMBASSADOR

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00548 01 OF 02 192020Z

ROTH INDICATED FRG STRONGLY DESIRES TO OBTAIN ALLIANCE

AGREEMENT, IN THE CONTEXT OF REACHING ALLIED AGREEMENT ON OPTION 3, TO THE COLLECTIVE NATURE OF PHASE II REDUCTION COMMITMENTS. THIS DOES NOT FULLY TALLY WITH ANALYSIS IN BONN'S 18364.

2. FRG HAS, OF COURSE, ALREADY PUT FORWARD IN THE SPC A FORMULATION TO THIS EFFECT FOR INCLUSION IN PARAGRAPH 3 OF THE POSITION PAPER (REF C). THAT FORMULA READS:  
"PHASE I AGREEMENT WITH THE EAST WILL INCLUDE AGREEMENT ON THE COLLECTIVE CHARACTER OF THE COMMON CEILING. THE ALLIES AGREE THAT THIS OBJECTIVE IMPLIES THE REJECTION OF ANY WESTERN INDIVIDUAL COMMITMENTS FOR NON-US ALLIED REDUCTIONS. FOOTNOTE: REFERENCE IS MADE TO PARAGRAPH 34 OF CM(73)83 WHICH STATES IN ITS LAST SENTENCE: 'THE ALLIANCE WOULD WISH TO BE FREE TO DECIDE FOR ITSELF HOW THE WEIGHT OF THE REDUCTION REQUIRED FOR THE SECOND PHASE SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED AMONG THE NATIONAL FORCES INVOLVED.' THE ALLIES AGREE THAT CONSEQUENTLY INDIVIDUAL QUOTAS WILL NOT BE PART OF THE NEGOTIATIONS OR OF ANY AGREEMENT WITH THE EAST. SHOULD THE EAST RAISE THIS POINT, THE AD HOC GROUP IS AUTHORIZED TO ANSWER IN ACCORDANCE WITH THIS POSITION."

3. IN REF (A) WE INDICATED OUR OPPOSITION TO THIS FORMULA ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT WOULD ADD TO THE NEGOTIATING LOAD OF PHASE I. WE POINTED OUT THAT THE FRG INTEREST IN AVOIDING A CONTINUING NATIONAL COMMITMENT WOULD BE ADEQUATELY PROTECTED IF THE EAST AGREED TO A COLLECTIVE COMMON CEILING. WE ALSO ARGUED THAT FOR THE WEST TO INSIST ON A COLLECTIVE REDUCTION COMMITMENT WOULD MAKE IT HARDER TO GAIN EASTERN AGREEMENT BOTH TO A COLLECTIVE CEILING AND TO PHASING.

4. FOR THESE REASONS, WE CONTINUE TO THINK THAT IT WOULD BE UNDESIRABLE TO AGREE TO FRG PROPOSED LANGUAGE. NEVERTHELESS, IF WASHINGTON AGENCIES ESTIMATE THAT FRG WILL MAKE ALLIED AGREEMENT TO THE COLLECTIVE NATURE OF PHASE II REDUCTION COMMITMENTS A FIRM CONDITION FOR FRG AGREEMENT TO PUTTING OPTION 3 FORWARD, THEN IT MAY BE NECESSARY TO CONSIDER MEETING GERMAN DESIRES IN A WAY THAT WOULD MINIMIZE REDUCING THE NEGOTIATING IMPACT

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00548 01 OF 02 192020Z

OF OPTION 3. WE WOULD SUGGEST, HOWEVER, THAT THIS BE DONE ONLY AS A FINAL AND DECISIVE US CONCESSION IN RETURN FOR ALLIED AGREEMENT ON THE REMAINDER OF THE NATO OPTION 3 PAPERS AND ONLY IF THE US HAS DECIDED TO PUT FORWARD OPTION 3 PRIOR TO THE CHRISTMAS RECESS OF THE VIENNA TALKS.

5. IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN MINIMUM NEGOTIABILITY OF

ALLIED PROPOSALS, ANY FORMULA THE US ACCEPTS SHOULD BE  
SUCH AS TO AVOID FOLLOWING PROBLEMS:

A. THE ALLIES SHOULD AVOID RULING OUT INDIVIDUAL  
US AND SOVIET COMMITMENTS TO REDUCTIONS OF A SPECIFIED  
SIZE IN PHASE II, AND CONTINUING CEILINGS ON US AND  
SOVIET FORCES FOLLOWING PHASE II REDUCTIONS.

B. ANY LANGUAGE AGREED ON INTERNALLY BY THE ALLIES  
REGARDING COLLECTIVE REDUCTION COMMITMENTS IN PHASE II

SECRET

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SECRET

PAGE 01 MBFR V 00548 02 OF 02 192028Z

41

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FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1292

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INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0548

FROM US REP MBFR

SHOULD BE EXPLICITLY RESTRICTED TO PHASE II REDUCTIONS.  
THAT IS, IT SHOULD NOT AFFECT THE FORMULATION OF THE  
PHASE I COMMITMENTS ALREADY PROPOSED BY THE ALLIES --  
THE "ALL PARTICIPANTS" FORMULA, AND THE NO-INCREASE  
PROPOSAL BETWEEN THE PHASES WHEN AND IF THE TIME COMES  
TO WORK OUT SPECIFIC WORDING ON THESE WITH THE EAST.

IN THE FORM IN WHICH THE ALLIES HAVE PUT FORWARD THESE PROPOSED COMMITMENTS, THEY COULD AND SHOULD BE SUBSCRIBED TO BY INDIVIDUAL ALLIED GOVERNMENTS. TO MODIFY THEM AT SOME FUTURE POINT BY MAKING THEM "COLLECTIVE" IN NATURE ON GROUNDS OF ALLIED AGREEMENT TO COLLECTIVE REDUCTION COMMITMENTS IN PHASE II WOULD SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE THEIR POTENTIAL ATTRACTIVENESS TO THE EAST, AND CORRESPONDINGLY DIMINISH THE CHANCES OF OBTAINING EASTERN AGREEMENT TO PHASING.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 MBFR V 00548 02 OF 02 192028Z

C. C. EACH INDIVIDUAL WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANT WILL BE EXPECTED BY THE EAST TO SIGN AT LEAST SOME DOCUMENT, BOTH OF A PHASE I AND A PHASE II MBFR AGREEMENT. WE SEE THIS AS A MINIMUM EASTERN REQUIREMENT. THE EAST WILL NOT BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT STATEMENTS SIGNED BY A NATO BODY OR A NATO OFFICIAL (E.G., THE SECRETARY GENERAL) ON BEHALF OF INDIVIDUAL WESTERN GOVERNMENTS. THEREFORE, A FORMULATION ON COLLECTIVE REDUCTION COMMITMENTS IN PHASE II SHOULD NOT BE SUCH AS TO LEND SUPPORT TO THE IDEA THAT, ON THE WESTERN SIDE, SUCH A COMMITMENT WOULD BE ENTERED INTO BY A SINGLE PERSON OR BODY ON BEHALF OF WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS.

6. WE ALSO REGARD IT AS ESSENTIAL THAT AN INTERNAL ALLIED UNDERSTANDING ON COLLECTIVE REDUCTION COMMITMENTS IN PHASE II NOT BE CONVEYED TO THE EAST DURING PHASE I NEGOTIATIONS. TO DO SO WOULD, IN OUR ESTIMATION, EFFECTIVELY ELIMINATE THE CHANCES OF OBTAINING EASTERN AGREEMENT TO PHASING IF NOT TO THE WESTERN REDUCTION APPROACH AS SUCH. THEREFORE, AN INTERNALLY AGREED ALLIED FORMULATION SHOULD BE RESTRICTED TO THE POSITION PAPER. AT THE SAME TIME, SINCE THE ISSUE OF THE NATURE OF PHASE II COMMITMENTS HAS ALREADY BEEN RAISED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND SINCE THE EAST CAN BE EXPECTED TO PROBE THE WESTERN POSITION FURTHER, THE ALLIED NEGOTIATORS WILL NEED AN AGREED FORMULATION FOR USE WITH THE EAST IN PHASE I TO BLOCK DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUE.

7. WE CONSIDER THAT THE CONDITIONS OUTLINED IN PARAS 5 AND 6 ABOVE ARE GENERALLY MET BY THE FRG FORMULATION QUOTED IN PARA 2 ABOVE, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THE LAST SENTENCE OF THE FOOTNOTE. THIS LAST SENTENCE IS IN CONFLICT WITH PARA 2 OF THE POSITION PAPER AND HAS THE EFFECT OF MAKING THE WHOLE FRG FORMULATION A PART OF THE GUIDANCE.

8. WE WOULD SUGGEST, IF WASHINGTON AGENCIES ARE  
CONVINCED OF THE NEED TO COMPROMISE WITH THE GERMANS  
IN ORDER TO OBTAIN ALLIED AGREEMENT TO PUT FORWARD  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 MBFR V 00548 02 OF 02 192028Z

OPTION 3 IN THIS NEGOTIATING ROUND, THAT THE US CONSIDER  
AGREEING TO FRG LANGUAGE, EXCEPT FOR LAST SENTENCE OF  
THE FOOTNOTE, WHICH SHOULD BE DELETED. IN PLACE OF  
THIS LAST SENTENCE, FORMULATION WHICH WE SUGGESTED IN  
PARA 6 OF REF (B) SHOULD BE ADDED TO PARA 3 OF THE  
GUIDANCE REPEAT GUIDANCE. THAT FORMULATION READS:  
"ALLIED NEGOTIATORS SHOULD TELL THE EAST THAT THE WEST  
IS NOT WILLING DURING PHASE I TO DISCUSS ANY ASPECT OF  
COMMITMENTS TO BE UNDERTAKEN IN PHASE II. THIS DOES  
NOT AFFECT THE WEST'S WILLINGNESS TO UNDERTAKE A  
COMMITMENT IN CONNECTION WITH A PHASE I AGREEMENT THAT  
ALL NON-US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD PARTICIPATE  
IN PHASE II REDUCTIONS TO A COMMON CEILING."

9. IN EFFECT, THE ABOVE FORMULATION WOULD BE USED TO  
BLOCK PHASE I DISCUSSION BOTH OF THE NATURE OF PHASE II  
REDUCTION OBLIGATIONS AND OF THE ISSUE OF WHETHER NON-  
US WESTERN DIRECT PARTICIPANTS WOULD REDUCE AND LIMIT  
ARMAMENTS IN PHASE II. RESOR

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